

international justice to U.S. foreign policy is illustrated by the administration's retreat in 2006 from outright opposition to the ICC to reluctant acceptance of the U.N. Security Council's referral of the Darfur genocide case to ICC jurisdiction. But this begrudging exception unfortunately proves the rule.

REPAIRING THE DAMAGE

The next president must make repairing the damage to American values and moral authority a top priority. Acting within a framework of the rule of law and respect for human rights will be essential to restoring America's international leadership.

The U.S. must strengthen its alliances by demonstrating it adheres to international norms in pursuing its national-security objectives. The next president should immediately announce that the U.S. will close the detention center at Guantanamo and transfer detainees to the U.S. or detainees' home countries. In addition, the president should announce that the U.S. is bound by the Geneva Conventions as a matter of law and policy. Restoring the U.S. policy of providing individualized status hearings to detainees would demonstrate respect for international norms without restricting the government's capacity to conduct lawful interrogations to obtain intelligence information about terrorist activities. Fully applying the Geneva Conventions also would not preclude the U.S. from trying detainees in military commissions.

A second means of underscoring U.S. commitment to address national-security threats within the rule of law would be to provide assistance to other countries for counterterrorism operations that comply with basic human-rights standards. "Fighting terror" has become a convenient excuse for repressive regimes to engage in further repression, often inspiring further terrorism in an increasing cycle of violence. To break this cycle, the U.S. should provide assistance and training to foreign military and law enforcement personnel in methods of fighting terrorism within the rule of law.

The U.S. should take the lead in drafting a comprehensive treaty defining and condemning terrorism within a framework of human rights. Working toward a consensus on this global issue would help counter the claim that differences in cultural values, religious beliefs, political philosophies, or justifiable ends make it impossible to define the crime of terrorism.

The president should make clear that the U.S. is prepared once again to be an active participant in strengthening the system of international law it helped create over the last half century. Important treaties have lingered for years in the Senate and should now be ratified or renegotiated. Some were signed by Republican presidents and once enjoyed bipartisan support, but have been blocked for the last seven years by the current administration and its Senate supporters. The U.S. should also rejoin negotiations on such critical issues as human rights, international justice, climate change, and nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction. By doing so, the next president would demonstrate that globalization can be made to work within the rule of law.

The U.S. should support those seeking to promote the rule of law, democracy, and human rights in their own countries. Democracy and human-rights activists are the shock troops in the struggle against terrorism, genocide, and nuclear proliferation. But democracy can never be delivered through the barrel of a gun. Assistance to those who are working to build their own democratic societies must be carefully

planned and targeted, sustained over time, and based on a thorough understanding of the unique circumstances and profound differences among cultures, religions, and countries. A new U.S. government must work within an international framework, not unilaterally and preemptively, to assist those struggling around the world to bring human rights to their own societies.

Finally, the U.S. should join with other countries, alliances, and international organizations to reassert America's role in working to prevent or stop genocide and crimes against humanity. The president should invoke the doctrine of humanitarian intervention that was applied in Bosnia and Kosovo in the 1990s to address the genocide in Darfur. Extensive diplomatic and economic tools can be used to head off an impending genocide, but international military intervention remains available under international law if all other avenues have been exhausted.

By recommitting the U.S. to a foreign policy conducted within a framework of human rights and the rule of law, the next president can restore America's moral leadership in the world—and by so doing, enhance American power and security.

FAREWELL TO ALAN HOFFMAN

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I rise today to say farewell and thank you to my chief of staff, Alan Hoffman. As many of you know, I was fortunate enough to have had Alan leading my office from 1998 to 2003, and then had my fortunes upped when Alan made the tremendous personal sacrifice, at my request, to leave California and resume his position in 2006. While I am sorry to see him go, it is certainly understandable that Alan is now returning to the west coast, rejoining his wife in their home in Santa Monica, and taking on a major position in the University of California system.

I am indebted to Alan's invaluable leadership, wise counsel, and unwavering loyalty. The entire Biden family has come to respect and care for Alan. We all recognized right away that Alan is a thoroughly decent human being, and he quickly earned my trust. I never once doubted the judgment Alan exercised as my chief of staff. Never once.

Alan arrived at my office in 1998 having served as an assistant U.S. attorney in Philadelphia after having worked in the White House and the Department of Justice. Actually, the first time I met Alan was supposed to be for a courtesy interview as he was being considered for a high-level position with Attorney General Reno. I was so impressed with his intellect, his temperament, his passion, and his values that I thought, I want this guy to work for me. I felt it was quite the coup when he accepted my offer.

Alan brought the smarts and experience to quickly grasp the salient points of any issue, and a deft hand on how to advance policy initiatives. I have benefited enormously from Alan's excellent sensibilities. He has sharp political sense, a keen sense of timing, a sense

of what makes people tick, and a sense of humor. Alan has tremendous awe and respect for the work being done by the United States Senate, and yet, at the same time, he has an underlying sense of humility. Alan never forgets that the work of the Congress is the people's business.

Alan oversaw many proud legislative achievements during his tenure in my office, ranging from improvements to port and rail security, to passage of the Violence Against Women Act of 2000 to championing criminal justice reforms and strengthening the Sarbanes-Oxley Act. He has continued to work, until his last hour on my staff, for policies that further the well-being and security of all Americans. Alan's leadership and unwavering sense of justice have been the catalysts for alliances that have a real chance of remedying the disparity in sentences received by those convicted of crack cocaine, as opposed to powder cocaine, offenses.

Though young when he first arrived in 1998, Alan quickly proved able to manage my diverse staff, ranging from bookish lawyers, to foreign policy specialists to caseworkers in my Delaware office. Alan motivated, challenged, and inspired the staff. He always set the highest example for all who worked with him and has earned their unqualified respect and admiration. And Alan provided the solid leadership and needed guidance to staff when the nation was attacked on September 11, 2001, and again, when the Senate suffered the anthrax attack which forced my Judiciary Committee staff out of their Hart Building offices and landed Senator CARPER's staff in our own conference room.

Alan has unlimited patience to hear all sides of an issue whether from staff, divergent interest groups, or constituents. He understands complexity and yet is always ready with a common-sense and principled recommendation that was easily explainable to both people inside, and more importantly, outside the beltway. Importantly, he is also a trusted and respected ally to so many of my colleagues; they know they can call Alan when I am not reachable and they can always count on him to follow through.

Mr. President, this is one of those moments when saying thank you simply seems inadequate. Alan Hoffman left his then-fiancée, now wife, a high-level position at the RAND Corporation, and a settled life in California to return to my office in 2006. That kind of loyalty, dedication, and sacrifice are rare.

I understand completely that Alan is ready to go home. I wish him and his wife Lizzie all the best. I have no doubt that he will prove to be just as talented and invaluable in his new position. But the fact remains that Alan Hoffman will be deeply missed, and his work and leadership leave an enduring imprint both in Washington and in Delaware.